1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11 Brazil SL1

BB 245 433 439 come to be the area of the greatest value of agricultural production in the state--Cr.$1,007,824,000, in 1948, almost three times the value of crop and livestock production in the Recôncavo, Cr.$335,000,000. The B BB 231 233 433 total value of livestock production in the Recôncavo is estimated to be about Cr.$60,000,000 for 1948. Although no comparable figure is available for Brazil, probably the Recôncavo had less than 1 per cent of the livestock and thus produced less than 1 per cent of the value of livestock in the nation as a whole.[1]

B BB 433 The present inferior position of the Recôncavo is in part a reflection of the relative decline of the region in the nineteenth century discussed in the chapter on the evolution of the Recôncavo. However, the Recôncavo continues to lag behind in the contemporary development B BB 241 249 433 [458] [650] of Brazil. From 1944 to 1952 the total cruzeiro value of the principal crops of Brazil increased four-fold, while the value of Bahia's tobacco crop, a good indicator of the economic shifts of the Recôncavo, increased by only one-fifth despite the concurrent inflationary spiral. Even the government-stabilized sugar industry of the Recôncavo produced only three and one-half times its 1944 value. Although the above increases are more indicative of the steadily declining value of Brazilian currency than of true economic development, they are an index of the relative importance of agriculture in the Recôncavo to the national economy.

BB 249 244 433 311 Tobacco, sugar cane, and manioc, which occupied 70 per cent of the Recôncavo's cropland, accounted for 77 per cent of the total value of all principal crops in 1948 (Table XVI). Each of the three crops contributed at least 20 per cent of the value of all crops, while no other crop produced over 6 per cent of the total. The cruzeiro value of these principal crops, and of livestock, and their relative position within the nation has been given in Table XV, above.

21 Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1987 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011

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*249 time and remained high until the 1888 decree which ended slavery completely. Before this time there had already been a great deal of manumission.

175 In fact, it is distinctive of the entire region that the relations
567 between the whites and the slaves were relatively warm and
*249 intimate. Gilberto Freyre describes the intimacy between the
571 moleque (little Negro boy) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestics, between the Negro nursemaid and her white charges, between Negroes and whites in other close relationships on these plantations. A good deal of race mixture occurred. It is still a joke in this region to say that a particular plantation owner "populated the area."

175 The crises through which the sugar industry passed dur-
*249 ing its four-hundred-year history are interesting and worthy
[654] of consideration. During the first fifty years of production (until early in the seventeenth century), the sugar industry prospered and expanded. It was a "period of formation, official protection, and government stimulation, during which the liberties of production, transportation, prices and commerce suffered little or no restrictions."[1] The seventeenth
175 century, however, was full of crises, one of the greatest be-
*249 ing the war with Holland. In 1624 the Dutch attempted to cap-
648 ture Bahia but were repulsed. However, they sailed along the shores of the Bay of All Saints, burning and sacking plantations and setting fire to the cane fields. In the north the Dutch succeeded in capturing Pernambuco, which they retained for twenty-four years, also engaging in the production of sugar. In 1644 the Dutch governor, Maurice of Nassau, was recalled to Holland, and the colony was left undirected. The Brazilians revolted and recaptured Pernambuco.

175 In 1666 there was an epidemic of smallpox in the Recôncavo
*249 which reduced the slave population and left many plantation
[731] owners without laborers. There followed a period of near-
[426] famine for some years, due to the lack of food-plant cultivation. While this situation continued, plantation masters
[458] frequently mortgaged their plantations in order to buy new

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1. J. Wanderley de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1552-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 193. The following three paragraphs are a condensation of the material contained in pp. 193-220 (author's translation).

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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slaves and equipment. Thus began a long series of mortgages which continued for several centuries. The commercial agents in the city, for the most part representatives of Portuguese companies, loaned money to the plantation owners, using the next crop as collateral. They also charged high interest rates. When the next crop did not materialize, nor the next, the plantation owners found themselves inextricably in debt. At the same time the sugar market in Portugal was lost because the sugar was arriving there in a spoiled condition due to poor transportation, a cargo at times taking two years to arrive at its destination. Furthermore, the prices of most necessities were rising, and, in addition, Portugal began to tax the colonists heavily.

In the early 1700's there was a more prosperous phase, due to higher prices for sugar in Europe. Many plantations were reconstructed, enlarged, and modified, and new ones were built. As a result many people went into debt again. During the eighteenth century two major factors turned against the prosperity of the sugar-cane growers: competition in the European market with the French, Spanish, and British, who were now producing sugar on their Caribbean islands; and the discovery of gold in the western part of Brazil. Sugar could be shipped to Europe more rapidly from the Caribbean than from Brazil. It was subject to less spoilage, and there was also probably less governmental interference. As soon as the European market was flooded with sugar, the price fell.

The discovery of gold in Minas Gerais further dislocated the sugar industry of the Recôncavo at the time when it could least afford it. The prices of slaves, metals, cloth, cattle, horses, and all the necessities of life increased. Many of the freemen who worked in the plantations in administrative capacities were enticed away to the mines by the promise of great wealth. The need for slaves at the mines was great, and traders who sold slaves preferred to sell them to the miners, who could pay cash, rather than to the plantation owners, who frequently paid in sugar. During this time there was also a serious shortage of foodstuffs, for many of the smaller farmers who normally raised food crops emigrated to Minas Gerais.

The agriculturalists--those who planted tobacco as well as those who planted sugar--were still being pressed by high taxes. There are many letters and documents from the governing bodies of the colony, addressed to the Portuguese king, telling him of the deplorable situation in which sugar planters

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found themselves, with no food, their slaves dying, the price of sugar falling, the markets lost, and, especially, overburdening taxes. Most of the documents which remain are pessimistic ones, for during the times of prosperity little was written. At any rate, late in the eighteenth century some measures were taken to lighten the burden of taxation and to provide better means of transportation to Europe than the irregular system of fleets which were frequently spaced two and three years apart. As a result, many plantation owners took heart and applied themselves again to the raising of sugar cane. They were further aided by an increasing market in Europe, which finally became almost entirely theirs at the turn of the century, as a result of the European wars.

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By the end of the Napoleonic wars sugar production was at its best, and Bahia was once again experiencing a pleasurable prosperity. However, 1822 brought the War of Independence, much of it fought in the Recôncavo. The war was supported to a great extent by the plantation masters, both financially and physically. Although they gained a great deal of prestige, they lost two harvests, and their exports fell off greatly. It took them some time to recuperate, and in 1855 they suffered another violent blow, an epidemic of cholera.

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An indication of the difficulties caused by the epidemic is given in the following passage, translated from a document in the inventory of the Baron of Caju made upon the death of his wife, a victim of cholera:

> The family was in a good state of animation and prosperity in 1855, when the fatal epidemic of cholera morbus wasted this Province, invading the home of the Inventoried and causing him horrible damages and enormous losses! The Baroness fell victim to this voracious scourge! Eighty-two of the most valuable and useful slaves had the same fate; the best expediencies, treatment, and vigilant care were of no effect! Almost the entire harvest of this fatal year was lost in the complete absence of field hands, for the number not stricken was small, and the others, convalescents, were truly spectres! The harvests of 1856 and 1857 also suffered.

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Soon afterwards a new phase began when the Civil War started in the United States, sending up the price of sugar and increasing the market. Some years after this a disease

226 43 men say that the fish are leaving, while others say there are just as many as ever. It is a difficult thing to prove one way or the other, for written records of the annual catches are only recent. However, there is no such thing as being unable to sell the fish they bring in. Many people in town have increased their consumption of fresh fish as a result of inflation, for it is less expensive than dried or fresh meat. The fishermen themselves eat a great deal of fish, always keeping enough out of a catch for their own family. The planters of the rural area complain that the fresh fish never arrive at the plantations any more as they did in the past. This is probably due to the icehouse in the town. The fishermen sell first to their "usual customers," the women who work with xangó and shrimp; what is left is sold to the icehouse to be packed and shipped to Bahia, rather than being sent out to the country.

226 The jererê, a small basketlike net built around an iron ring 1 1/2 feet in circumference, is used by women and children along the shore and is part of a subsistence activity. It catches only a small crab (siri), an occasional eel, and other small fish which are cooked for the table in the form of moqueca, a sort of stew highly seasoned with peppers and dendê oil. The tideswamps abound in a large crab called the caranguejo, which is also highly prized for the table. Children often catch these, but a man who does so is called a caranguejeiro, a derogatory term. The hunter seeks the crab by sticking his arm down into its hole, which is usually very deep, at least arm's length. As a result he is always covered with the thick black mud so typical of the tideswamps. Often a tropeiro de cima comes to the town and commissions someone to catch the crabs, which he wraps carefully in mud and leaves and carries to the northern hinterland to sell.

463 241 The second largest subgroup in Group 3 is composed of the twenty-four gardeners (roçeiros) who are engaged in small-scale commercial farming, rather than subsistence horticulture. They live in town and have their small fields on the outskirts of Vila Recôncavo. All of these fields are located on the plantation Engenho Da Vila ("P" on map of community), and they range from one, two, or three acres in size to as many as fifteen acres, rented from the plantation at Cr$100,00 an acre per year. The major crops are manioc, bananas, and to a lesser extent tobacco, sugar cane for chewing (cana de chupar), corn, beans, and squash. Because there are only 265

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tation administration are over. In general, however, neither the children nor the parents mix with the permanent residents of Vila Recôncavo. Although as small children they may have a worker's son as a constant playmate, by the time they are teenagers this relationship has usually faded into a fond memory.

The standard of living of this class is far above that of any of the other local groups. It is important to realize that because of the fluctuations of the sugar market, members of this class have not always had fluid wealth at their command, while at other periods they have been undeniably wealthy. But even during a slump they have been able to raise money when necessary. One of the major reasons that planters turned to the professions was the need to assure themselves of a continued income when the sugar market falls. At such times their main activities are directed toward earning a living in the city. But at those times when sugar producing is profitable the practicing of the activities becomes a strain, and one or the other must suffer. Nevertheless, at any time these people have earned enough to maintain a standard of living which compares favorably with that of the upper class in any large city. Households are complete with refrigerators, radios, and other electrical appliances which must be imported. Many have automobiles, receive magazines from abroad, follow Parisian dress styles, take interest in international affairs, and in general lead a life of wide interests. In the rural zone their houses are much better than those of any others, often having running water, electricity, and a full range of service provided by servants. Usually the household servants move from country to city with the family.

Class B in the rural zone of the community is made up of plantation overseers, factory technicians, and white-collar workers of the factory offices. It is almost as small as Class A, comprising about twenty adult members. As in the case of the planters, who associate with other planters outside the community, the overseers of various plantations have reunions. There is much more social contact between the overseers and the mass of workers, however, than between the planters and the workers. The planters usually know all the workers on their plantations, as well as their families; but although there is frequent visiting and chatting between the women of the two groups and between the males of the two groups, there is little basis for conversation. The planta-

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travagant ceremonial of the house. The fulfillment of individual obligations is very expensive, too much so for one person to pay for it himself. The ceremony given at the end of the year in 1950 cost the members of the house almost two thousand cruzeiros in foods, sacrificial animals, candles, kerosene for the lamps, clothing, and ornaments. Individual members spent as much as four hundred cruzeiros on their clothes and beads, in addition to contributing to the common fund, not to mention their labor in cooking and in washing and ironing all the costumes and clothes used during the ceremonies. Such large sums of money are hard to get, so the number of ceremonies per year is decreasing. Not only are the salaries of the people low and inflation high, but more and more things which were not formerly available in the area--such as movies, wrist watches, jewelry other than the beads and bracelets symbolic of the deities, perfume, and lipstick--lay claim on the people's attention and purses.

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Participation in the cults is generally considered to be an activity of lower-class people, and in Vila Recôncavo only such people are seen dancing and carrying out their other cult obligations. Individuals of other classes, however, do participate either indirectly or secretly. Class A displays a genuine lack of knowledge about the cult activities, in spite of being brought up within sound of the drums and within sight of the outward symbols of the African and Indian deities. These people, although they speak with disdain of cultism and of the paganism involved, have a certain respect for it and usually refrain from interfering with it in any way. They maintain a type of joking relationship in regard to it with the workers who they know participate in it, but seldom if ever attend a ceremony. Ceremonies are infrequently held on family-owned plantations when the owners are present. Most of them take place on plantations run by overseers.

Class B in the town has several members who help support the cult house and indirectly participate in its activities, especially in reference to the Mother of the Waters ritual. Since education, which implies freedom from belief in cultism, is a criterion of class position, members of Class B in public denounce cultism and those who participate in it. But many of them, coming from families which participated in it, retain some belief in the cults and fear them. They do not completely cut themselves off from cultism. They participate in it secretly, sending money to the cult leader and presents to the Moth-

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tory and its fields, and who are slowly drifting away from visiting the factory nucleus.

An overall result of the new conditions between private planters and the factory is a desire on the part of the suppliers of São Pedro to become independent of this outlet. Several of the suppliers are shifting their cane to other neighboring factories, when this is convenient. Most of them are seriously [311] considering shifting to another crop, as will be described below; in fact a goodly proportion of land has already been taken out of sugar-cane production, thus diminishing future cane harvests and endangering the cane supply of Usina São Pedro.

What was formerly a peaceful, "all in the family," almost preservelike area has become an area of tensions and of poor business, and social, relations. The situation has all the possibilities of a traditional sugar-cane kind of land capture. The factory needs land in order to produce more cane so that the mill can operate at capacity. No one is willing to sell to the factory, nor even to supply as much cane as he might under other conditions. But the private planters are dependent upon [452] the factory, economically and for services. Therefore it is an easy matter for the factory to make difficulties for the individual planter, even gradually forcing him into failure, since the planter operates on credit and has little latitude for even [425] a single crop failure. Such a failure gives the factory an opportunity to acquire badly needed lands at a bargain.

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The sugar industry in the community of Vila Recôncavo has also undergone changes in the labor aspects, in line with the entire industry. As was pointed out in Chapter 4, the price of the sugar cane and the sugar is artificially regulated, and has been rising slowly over a period of years. However, na- [656] tionwide social legislation in the past three years has raised the wages of the workers annually, before the price increases were granted by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. Spiraling [458] inflation has also helped raise all the costs, of labor, of materials, and of machinery. Whereas prices for the task done [466] have always been fairly well regulated, they have recently become a very strong issue, and there is much worker discontent. The planter, whether private or corporate, is more than ever interested in holding down the costs of his labor supply, since other costs, particularly of machinery and repairs, are soaring, always narrowing the margin between the total cost of production and the established selling price.

[SALVADOR]

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829 365 The irregularities and inadequacies of electric service in the city are attributed by many inhabitants of Bahia to what they call the "contempt of the Americans for the well-being of the people," as if the Americans were the only ones responsible for the operation of the American-Brazilian enterprise that produces electricity for the region. Everything that is or is supposed to be American otherwise enjoys great prestige. There is, however, a foreign group against which (or, more precisely, against the hidden "trust" that it represents) there exists a very strong hostility, although it manifests itself only on certain occasions. It is a matter of emigrants from Spanish Galicia, accused of exploiting the populace owing to the monopoly that they have acquired in the grocery and bakery business. At certain times when tension is particularly strong, as in 1930, and following the rapid rise of the price of commodities of prime necessity at the beginning of the last world war, the populace gave free vent to its discontent by plundering certain Spanish business establishments. But the attitude of the Bahians toward the person of these immigrants is free of lasting animosity, and marriages between the two groups are frequent. The fact remains, however, that the population attributes to the Spaniards the shortage of certain food commodities, especially bread, and it accuses these emigrants of "enriching themselves off of the misery of the people."

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529 *563 575 743 The recreational associations of the English, Spaniards, Syrians, and Lebanese are frequented by Brazilians. Likewise the hospitals maintained by the Portuguese and Spanish colonies are managed by Brazilian doctors and receive numerous patients from Bahia, white or colored.

795 771 The religion of the Catholic majority is traditionally much more external and ritualistic than dogmatic, the religiosity of a large number of those who call themselves "strict Catholics" being chiefly theoretical. This must have constituted a serious difficulty for the clergy; it is also a subject of astonishment for the visitor who imagines that he will come in contact with "the most Catholic of Brazilian cities." The antagonisms between religious groups are also moderate in this domain and /19/ never affect the

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829 458 439 195 This author here alludes to the disturbances that the economy of Bahia underwent from the time of the suppression of the slave traffic and Europe's adoption of beet sugar, which brought about the almost total stoppage of the importation of sugar cane, the basis of the wealth of our city.

829 *563 As for the mulattoes, while some declare that there is not "a chapter of our political or social history in which the remarkable personality of a métis does not glitter with particular brilliance," others, along with some praise, make strong reservations. A jurist and scholar of great repute (2)

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2. Almachio Diniz, Historia racial do Brasil, São Paulo, 1934, p. 155.

considered the description of the mulatto given by an author of [157] Bahia excellent: "The mulattoes are in general vain, intelligent, and inclined toward the pleasures of life in society... They have good hearts" (3).

3. Sa Oliveira, op. cit., p. 21.

Although many people consider the Black an inferior being with regard to intelligence, almost no one questions the talent and the intellectual possibilities of the mulattoes. "If," says another economist from Bahia, "we turn toward the intellectual qualities and characteristic morals of the modern civilized man, the classic exponent of which is the European: universality of spiritual horizon, logical and systematic mind, technical gifts, tenacity and energy in the struggle for individual or social rights, and if we consider our most representative men, that is /27/ to say, our strongest personalities, we see among them many Blacks and mulattoes." And he concludes by asserting that the Afro-Brazilians are by no means inferior to the descendants of immigrants who came from more highly civilized and more purely